

HUMAN EVENTS

Vol. XVI, No. 34

Wednesday, August 26, 1959

Washington, D. C.

News Section

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Nixon vs Rockefeller: The first round in the "battle of the century" has ended, with professional politicians agreed that the Vice President won it decisively. The New York Governor has had to run to cover in a none too dignified manner and repudiate his side's propaganda. Two matters highlight this development.

Point 1. Rockefeller has had to disavow the widely publicized stand he reportedly took two weeks ago: that his decision to run for the Presidential nomination would depend on what public opinion polls show by next November. Now he says he never said so. He did say so. The "polls" stand was attributed to him by all the press "on the highest authority" (confirmed by the *New York Times*, August 18).

This "polls" tack by the New York Governor was widely criticized as an abdication of the normal primary process, placing the nomination campaign in the hands of controversial pollsters. The criticism provoked a crisis in the GHQ of the Rockefeller forces. The Governor, it seems, had been counseled to take this line by the "amateurs of Park Avenue" around him. The old "pro," former Governor Thomas E. Dewey, then stepped in to tell young Rockefeller that such tactics would not do, and that he had better eat crow, and fast. Hence, the Governor's repudiation of his "polls" talk.

Point 2. Rockefeller, through his "amateur" propagandists, had been seeking to place on Nixon the responsibility for inviting Khrushchev to America, to criticize the Vice President's handling of his recent trip to Russia and to spread the impression that Rockefeller remained aloof from the plans for the Khrushchev visit.

In the Midwest and South, this "smear" maneuver sought to turn conservative Republicans against the Vice President.

Nixon's G-2 spotted this maneuver early and leaked details of it to various newspapers which came out with the story of the Rockefeller "smear" drive (*New York Herald Tribune*, August 16). The *Herald Tribune* also pointed out that "Mr. Eisenhower has explained several times that he himself initiated the correspondence leading to the invitation before he ever informed the Vice President what was in the wind."

The reaction to the *Herald Tribune* piece was swift. Again the old pros moved in on Rockefeller and elbowed the Park Avenue crowd out of the way. Nelson had to come out and deny that he had ever looked with disfavor on Nixon's journey to Moscow, during which the Ike-

Khrushchev visit exchange jelled. Rockefeller announced that he wanted to "completely disassociate" himself from "extremely unfair" accusations that Nixon went to Moscow mainly to boost his 1960 stock. And finally, the New York Governor proclaimed that he would take an active part in welcoming the Russian dictator when he came to New York. In short, as the chess players say—"check."

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Khrushchev Visit: Hush-hush and police agencies centering in Washington express no little alarm about the consequences of the Russian dictator's coming trip here. They note the jubilations in the Communist *Worker*, and all reports coming in to them indicate a great burst of confidence among the subversive elements.

Last week, the *Washington Daily News*, a Scripps-Howard paper, reported that the American Reds believe that the Khrushchev visit "will launch a new 'era of good feeling'; will give them a chance to infiltrate many American groups. Party functionaries have been ordered to work quietly, not to stir up suspicion."

First sign of the Commie drive to exploit the Khrushchev visit is new activity by the American Communist party's "Educational Section." According to information reaching HUMAN EVENTS—this section, in recent weeks, has been holding "leadership" meetings among the comrades in New York, Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Seattle. Police have had difficulty in shadowing and getting details about these gatherings. The comrades set up rendezvous at certain street corners, then (to make tailing by police difficult) whisk members away in several autos by different routes to a house in some remote area.

How Victory was Won: Whatever the disposition of the Landrum-Griffin labor reform bill by the Senate and House conferees, the measure's passage in the House continues to excite Capitol Hill. Politicos study the steps leading up to the event, and make mental notes on how to handle even more effectively labor reform legislation in the future.

First of all, they dismiss as a complete myth the version put out by "liberal" pundits that the job was done by the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce and trade associations. Actually, these organizations—knowing they would be under fire—voluntarily abstained from lobbying on the Hill at the request of conservative political leaders. As the *Washington Star* put it, August 15, "It was not the efforts of the NAM and the Chamber which did the trick There was just one thing . . . and that was an overwhelming demand from the public" to correct abuses.

The public was alerted—in the opinion of the best observers—by Senator McClellan and President Eisenhower (in his TV speech). GOP House leader Halleck and Southern Democratic leaders did the necessary spade

work at the parliamentary level. One name should be added to the roster of honor — that of Congressman Richard Simpson (R.-Pa.). Following the decisive vote in the House, the President phoned Simpson and thanked him (in a 20-minute conversation) for his great help in organizing the public demand for a “tough” labor bill.

Thereby hangs a tale. When Simpson, who is chairman of the GOP Congressional Campaign Committee and Senator Barry Goldwater (head of the GOP Senatorial Campaign Committee) set out last spring to hold a \$100 a plate dinner to provide funds for election of Republicans for the House and Senate next year, they did not even dream that the response would prove so generous. Since Simpson has 437 constituencies to handle next year and Goldwater only 33, the main burden of the effort fell on Simpson’s shoulders. When the dinner was over, Simpson and Goldwater found they had collected over \$400,000 to help GOP congressional candidates next year.

But they also found that thousands of individuals all over the country had been enthusiastic contributors and were a potential political action force. So, when the labor bill fight loomed a month ago, Simpson alerted these thousands of GOP enthusiasts to encourage friends in their communities to write Congressmen in favor of the Landrum-Griffin bill. It worked, and the consequent political pressure from the grass roots proved a big factor in passing the “tough” House labor bill.

Political Action: The Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA) has held a meeting attended by representatives of the leading patriotic organizations of the country to discuss “what to do about the visit of Khrushchev” and has come up with suggestions for action by American citizens who disapprove of the invitation to the Russian dictator. Those present, of course, wanted nothing to do with any demonstrations which might produce violence or unseemly actions. But the following ideas were recommended to patriotic groups across the country:

(1) A nation-wide program of special church services during the period of the dictator’s visit; perhaps a special program of prayer in the particular cities on the days of the contemplated visits of Khrushchev. Prayers would be for the souls of those murdered by the Communist conspiracy and for the deliverance of all people enslaved behind the Iron Curtain.

(2) *Silence, or preferably absence, wherever Khrushchev appears, and refusal to participate in dinners, or special functions held in his honor.*

(3) Requests that the local newspapers publish a black border around the front page on the day, or week of the visit.

(4) *A campaign of “letters to the editor” in protest.*

(5) Full-page advertisements of protest in local papers.

(6) *Bands of crepe or other symbols of mourning worn by citizens.*

(7) Flags flying at half-mast on homes and buildings.

The ACA will serve as a point of exchange for information about what each patriotic organization is doing on its own.

Import Crisis: On the heels of last week’s HUMAN EVENTS forecast that Walter Reuther—following leads of other CIO leaders—would demand action of a protectionist nature against the current flood of imports, comes a report on the front page of the *New York Times* that the AFL-CIO (in which Reuther is the dominant figure) is planning a change in its traditional free trade policy. “Alarmed by recent increases in imports of goods manufactured in countries with low wage standards,” says the *Times*, “the federation’s high command is slated to approve a call for legislation to safeguard domestic production against foreign inroads.” It is understood that George Meany, AFL-CIO president, has given the plan his blessing.

The complaints of the far-left Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, reported here last week, have been echoed by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the Textile Workers Union and the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers Union. All these “liberal” old-line CIO unions have long backed free trade policies.

The tip-off to the change appeared last May, when Reuther returned from a trip to Germany. In that country, the head of the United Auto Workers looked into wage costs—a big factor in the brisk sale of German autos in the United States. HUMAN EVENTS reported on June 3: “Reuther now proposes that the US Government impose a payment on imported German cars, which would narrow the gap between the high wage rates in the US auto industry and the wages paid by German auto manufacturers.” In short, a tariff proposed by the “free trade” exponent, Walter Reuther.

The UAW chief undoubtedly has reason to change his ideas on free trade, particularly because of the trouble in his home town of Detroit. On August 4, the *Detroit Times* reported picketing violence at the UAW-struck Cross Company plant in that city. The *Times* says that the Cross Company is the world’s largest manufacturer of automation machinery. The UAW demands substantial wage increases for members in the Cross plant. The company’s executive vice president, Ralph E. Cross, has stated—says the *Times*—that his company is building a plant in Germany because of the high cost of labor and low productivity of workers in the US.

Michigan’s Plight: Business and banking elements in the Wolverine state have come out in vocal revolt against the proposed high taxes and the already long-standing bad business climate under socialistic Governor “Soapy” Williams and the labor-Democratic regime. In the past few weeks, the press of the state has run columns of protests from business leaders.

The *Detroit News*, dealing with the business insurrection, reports that an extensive survey shows that business and industry, already carrying a higher tax burden than that carried by competitors in other states, fear that an increase in taxes (insisted upon by Governor Williams) “will tend to deter new employers from coming to Michigan and force Michigan plants to expand in other states.” The *News* drew a sample complaint from Henry T. Bodman, president of the state’s biggest financial institution, the National Bank of Detroit, who

said: "Any tax which puts added burdens on industry will discourage new firms from coming into Michigan and will force more business concerns to leave Michigan in favor of other states where the business climate is better." Bodinan was asked if plants are actually leaving the state. "Certainly business is leaving Michigan," he said. "All you have to do is to look around you."

Similar reactions appeared in the press from spokesmen for General Motors, Ford, Dow Chemical, J. L. Hudson (Michigan's largest merchandiser), Excello Corporation, Brower Furniture Company, Upjohn (pharmaceuticals), Mueller Brass Company, McLouth Steel Corporation, Dexter Industries, Inc., Defoe Shipbuilding Company and others.

Spotlight on Reuther Union: Walter Reuther's crusade for a Socialist America did not shine last week when the Senate Rackets Committee released the closed session testimony of United Auto Workers Senior Vice President Richard Gosser. Evidence was presented to the committee raising the question of union real estate speculation. Gosser denied that he received any of a \$63,000 payoff which witnesses testified a Gosser lieutenant received. After the case came to light the individual was dropped from the UAW.

Regarding the mysterious UAW Flower Fund (money collected from members for political and other uses), Senator Carl Curtis (R.-Neb.) wanted to know why the Toledo records for the 1958 fund were destroyed. Gosser answered: "We agreed that at the end of the year the girl would just—I don't want to say throw out the file, or what to do with it, but I am sure we are not interested in keeping books . . ." After Gosser had evaded Curtis' questions regarding juke boxes in union halls, the Senator told Gosser: "I think you would know better than that. That sounds so much like Hoffa."

For two years HUMAN EVENTS has asked why the committee has seen fit to pass over strange doings in Reuther's UAW, while confining most of its attention to Hoffa. One answer often mentioned: Presidential hopeful Senator Jack Kennedy cannot afford to alienate Democratic Power Walter Reuther. Last week, the Rackets Committee made a new start.

Laos: Here we go again! The Communists continue to play their favorite game of extending one hand in a gesture of "peace," while threatening with the other to inscribe a new name on the Red roster of captive nations.

While the United States prepares to receive Nikita Khrushchev in Washington, armed troops from Communist North Vietnam are harassing and penetrating Laos in large scale guerilla warfare. According to latest reports, 1,000 Communist troops are poised in Red China on the Laotian border ready to attack.

Capital conclusion: Khrushchev—between his White House toasts for a "peaceful" solution to the Berlin question—will point to the new Laos "crisis" as a basis for future discussions, and future Red demands for concessions by the free world.

"Back-Door" Spending: The need to close the big "back-door" spending loophole in Federal budgeting is brought sharply into focus in a report on the subject com-

piled by the Council of State Chambers of Commerce. Eugene F. Rinta, director of research in the council's Washington office, explains how back-door raids on the Treasury work:

"The two commonly used devices are (1) authorizations to expend from public debt receipts and (2) contract authorizations. The first of these is a grant of authority which permits an agency to borrow funds from the Treasury to finance a specific activity, usually a loan program. These borrowings are liquidated by repayment from the agency or by cancellation of the agency's notes on authority of the Congress.

"The contract authorization empowers an agency to incur obligations prior to being granted an appropriation bill."

Since World War II, Government agencies have utilized these back-door spending practices to the tune of \$69.6 billion (\$18.4 billion in contract authorizations)—funds brought to the attention of the House and Senate Appropriation Committees only after they were already expended.

The volume of back-door Treasury business took such a sharp rise last year that Representative Howard W. Smith (D.-Va.) introduced a resolution (H.Res. 646) changing the rules of the House to prevent granting of authority for agencies to create obligations not previously cleared with the Appropriations Committee. The resolution died in 1958, but Smith has a similar one (H.Res. 161) before the House again this year.

H.Res. 161 is now in the hands of Smith's own House Rules Committee. Smith, however, is pessimistic about the resolution's chances of reaching the floor because the House "leadership" is opposed to it. Thus, unless there is strong, immediate urging from the public for action on H. Res. 161, another session will be concluded without an end in sight to back-door spending.

Steel Strike: The United Steelworkers Union has long held nothing but contempt for steelworkers who refuse to join the USW. One such group is employed by the Weirton Steel Company, Weirton, West Virginia. It is represented not by the USW, but by the Independent Steelworkers Union. Steelworkers at Weirton negotiate their own contracts with the company at the local level. They do not strike when the USW calls for a walkout.

How do isolated steelworkers make out without the help of "Big Brother" David McDonald and his USW organization?

One worker at Weirton Steel put it this way when he told a *Wall Street Journal* reporter:

"My brother works at Wheeling Steel and belongs to the Steelworkers [USW]. He's been on strike six times since the end of the war, and every time he is out he winds up coming around to borrow money so his kids can eat. My home's paid for now while he's still renting. I guess that shows the difference between our independent union and his union."

Violence: The United States—often cast in the role of international policeman to settle the world's ills—finds it difficult to police the Nation's Capital. Recently Representative Charles C. Diggs (D.-Mich.) was driving

along a Washington street at night with a group of friends when he saw six Negro youths attack an unemployed kitchen worker "like a pack of wolves," rob him and leave the victim battered and bruised as they ran away.

Diggs, himself a Negro, said he followed the attackers in his car and saw them divide up the money they had stolen.

"Then," Diggs reported, "a couple of them, one with a knife, came toward us and we drove away to call police."

Reflecting upon the incident later, the Michigan legislator said: "It's really frightening to think of this happening. I know of course that there are certain conditions that produce these kind of antisocial attitudes, but we need more responsibility on the part of the Negro community, too. We can't just blame it on conditions and let it go at that."

Such attacks as the one witnessed by Diggs have become common in the District of Columbia and are the subject of much local discussion. On August 15, Mrs. Donald Quarles, widow of the late Deputy Secretary of Defense, was knocked down and painfully bruised by a purse snatcher.

The most astounding aspect of this Washington story, however, is the war that bands of delinquents are making on the law enforcement officers. On August 14, five Negro teen-agers jumped a white policeman, clubbed him with his own nightstick, then relieved him of his revolver before disappearing into the darkness.

From District of Columbia police authorities, HUMAN EVENTS learned last week that there have been 139 assaults on police officers in Washington thus far this year. In the month of July alone, there were 26 police beatings.

Railroads: Further governmental regulation can only mean socialization or bankruptcy for US railroads, in the opinion of Alfred E. Perlman, president of the New York Central. Perlman expressed this view the other day before a Senate Commerce subcommittee which held hearings on a bill introduced by Senator Clifford P. Case (R.-N.J.) to make it more difficult for railroads to discontinue passenger service on unprofitable runs.

Only last year the Congress enacted a law that makes it easier for railroads to drop passenger trains which operate at a deficit. Under the 1958 legislation, a railroad company can notify the Interstate Commerce Commission 30 days before a passenger run is scheduled to be discontinued. If the ICC fails to call for a public hearing on the matter within 20 days, the company can put its plan into effect after 30 more days. If ICC does call for a hearing, then it must be held within four months from that time.

Case's bill would waive the present time limits on ICC actions and make a hearing mandatory in every case. Thus, a railroad company could be forced to operate a losing line for months and even years before obtaining Government authority to discontinue it.

Another Case provision, which the railroad companies call "punitive," would make them pay any workers, who lose jobs because a passenger run is discontinued and "cannot" find other employment, their full salaries up to four years after dismissal.

Commenting on this before the Senate subcommittee, Perlman stated: "The absolute impossibility of operating any business as a private enterprise for long under such a scheme of legalized featherbedding is so apparent that I will not labor the point."

Education: Many school superintendents throughout the country have already begun their annual high pressure campaign to enroll thousands of teachers as members of the "liberal" National Education Association. The NEA boasts one of the largest and most influential lobbies in the Nation's Capital, which constantly pressures Congressmen for passage of bigger Federal aid to education spending programs—programs that plunge the Government into the education business and undermine the role of Boards of Education at the local level.

The National Education Association's policy-makers consistently subscribe to "progressive" theories relating to classroom subject matter and teaching methods. And in many respects, it appears to Washington observers, the NEA is not unlike a typical trade union with the primary objective of obtaining one wage increase after another for its members, regardless of the taxpayers' ability to foot the bill.

There is no question that a number of teachers are disenchanted with the policies and aims of the association. As one elementary school principal, who supported the NEA for 20 years, tells HUMAN EVENTS: "Today, it proposes to destroy much that I consider basic and necessary for . . . good school systems."

Resisting the NEA is not a wise thing for some teachers to do in face of the vigorous "100 per cent membership" campaigns waged by their superintendents. The elementary school principal says that "individual teachers are as helpless to resist such membership as are truck drivers who are forced into membership in Hoffa's unions. There is no free choice."

Dissenting teachers believe that forced NEA membership campaigns will not be stopped until local school boards rule that teachers may not be compelled to join any national organizations. Otherwise, it is foreshadowed, it may some day be necessary to legislate a "bill of rights" for the teaching profession.

REV. HAROLD C. KELLOGG, Pittsford, N. Y.: "You . . . are editing a much needed piece of literature that should be in the hands of every true American. I use the information constantly and would be lost without it. More power to you."

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HUMAN EVENTS, 408 First St., SE, Washington 3, D. C., is a weekly Washington newsletter. Founded in 1944 by Frank C. Hanighen. Published usually in two sections: a 4-page news section and a 4-page article section. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D. C. Copyright 1959.

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Article Section

Labor and the Broadcasting Industry

A Land of Plenty for Unionized Performers and Technicians

By LEE EDWARDS

AT 7 A.M. on a Monday morning last April about 10 million viewers turned on their television sets expecting to see Paris, chestnut trees and a young French girl named Brigitte Bardot talking with Dave Garroway, star of NBC-TV's program, *Today*.

However, a blank screen greeted them and continued to greet them for two more hours, the normal length of the *Today* show. The reason (if not the reasoning) was simple: members of the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians (NABET) in New York declined to handle the video-tape of the interview between Miss Bardot and Mr. Garroway. They had been advised, they said, that "basic operating jobs" in producing the tape in France had been performed by non-union French technicians "in violation of contract" between NABET and NBC.

Network officials, unnerved at the prospect of empty air, asked the technicians to put a substitute film on the air, but NABET workers refused. NBC states that it then asked the technicians to leave the studio (where they were obviously in the way). NABET spokesmen later insisted that the men had been told to leave the premises.

NBC proclaimed a strike. NABET counter-proclaimed a "lock out" and told 1,500 of its members in NBC employ across the Nation to walk off their jobs, which they did. The impasse lasted 18 more days until May 15 when NABET members voted to accept an agreement reached between its union and NBC.

The NABET-NBC strike is worth closer examination because it illustrates the lengths to which a union will go to protect that fine old American labor custom—featherbedding.

When the idea of taping five *Today* programs in Paris was first advanced, everyone was enthusiastic, including NABET. It was agreed that nine of its members should accompany the *Today* production team on full pay with all expenses paid. A NABET press release described the departure of the technicians as a "history making trip."

On April 24 (three days before the strike began) the technicians phoned from Paris to union head-

quarters in New York that French technicians—and not they—were performing the basic jobs. NABET headquarters channeled this protest to NBC which must have been perplexed. It was paying full salary and expenses to nine Americans in Paris who complained that someone else was doing their work.

That different equipment and the obvious language barrier might have necessitated such a substitution could not have occurred nor probably mattered to NABET officials. And, there was another aspect to the use of the French workers that C. Tyler Byrne, international executive vice president of NABET, raised. Byrne explained that there was "a trend" by networks toward producing more and more programs abroad and using "run-away shops." "Run-away shops" are non-union shops, which of course are anti-labor and un-American to executive vice presidents of unions.

NABET was determined to "put a stop to this situation," Byrne declared, because "this is a threat to the job security of our workers."

The union's determination in this case came at a high price. NBC officials estimated the payroll of the 1,500 workers at \$40,000 daily for a seven day week. Nineteen days of striking at \$40,000 a day comes to a total of \$760,000, which is a lot of determination.

During the strike, NBC maintained a full schedule with the use of supervisory personnel in the various technical jobs. There *were* a few fluffs. But they were exceptions to the generally smooth work done by only 300 NBC supervisors.

That number 300 is significant for it is irrefutable proof of labor featherbedding. For nearly three weeks, 300 office workers did the work of 1,500 trained, skilled technicians in an industry that is as complex as it is modern. Here is a bed so full of feathers that anything but an American industry would smother in it.

ORGANIZED LABOR, for its part, was doing its best to ignore the "lock out," and although there was some talk in the second week of a sympathy strike by the International Brotherhood of Teams-

ters, even that militant branch sensed the untenable position of NABET.

How did it finally end? Certainly not with a bang for NABET. The agreement carried little balm for the union: (1) NABET relinquished tape jurisdiction of programs produced outside the United States and retained jurisdiction over tape in the US in the areas defined in a contract signed in May, 1958; (2) NBC was given the right to determine the method of operation and work assignments; (3) any employee refusing to follow instructions or who does not perform duties satisfactorily was made subject to disciplinary action or dismissal without pay; (4) writing of grievances by personnel, when it interferes with company operations, was prohibited; and (5) NBC was given the right to file grievances and process them through to arbitration.

NABET workers went back to work and NBC personnel went back to their desks where they found notice of at least one additional week of paid vacation and a bonus of \$400.

For losing the strike, Byrne was relieved of all duties at NABET and he resigned soon after. Such victories for management are rare in the broadcasting field where networks and stations have been reluctant to take a strike and, correspondingly, willing to accede to worker demands. The generally increasing profits of radio and television have persuaded management to grant a job security, which, in the understandably anxious hands of labor, has become incredibly complex.

For example, there are seven unions in the non-film field which negotiate for labor of networks and stations—seven unions which must be considered by every producer whether he wants to produce a 90-minute spectacular or a 90-second commercial.

Here they are:

- International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW). A large old-time craft union that started in the electrical construction field. IBEW is said to represent more full-time employees at stations and networks than any other union despite the fact that less than one per cent of its membership (600,000) is in broadcasting.

- National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians (NABET). Formed in the mid-Thirties, NABET was a member of the CIO. The bulk of its membership of over 4,100 is made up of technicians, nearly half of whom work for ABC and NBC.

- International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada (IATSE). In broadcasting, IATSE's strength (aside from the length of its name) consists of stagehands and related classifications at network production centers in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles, plus a handful of individual station agreements. Some station contracts cover technicians as well as production employees. IATSE is a veteran AFL union controlling motion picture production, motion picture exhibition (projectionists) and the legitimate stage in New York. IATSE is firmly entrenched in television film.

- American Communications Association (ACA). Units of ACA over the past decade have been reduced to a few in Philadelphia and New York. Its chief strength is in the non-broadcast areas. In 1950 ACA was expelled from the CIO for "Communist domination."

- American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA). Organized in the Thirties to represent performers and directors in network radio, it now claims a membership of about 13,000, most of whom are free lance artists working in New York and Los Angeles.

- American Federation of Musicians (AFM). Representing professional musicians in all forms of entertainment, its membership includes staff musicians at the networks and some of the larger stations. Although employment of staff musicians has declined at stations in the past few years, it is said that AFM members receive more money from broadcasting than any other source. A major part of this revenue is the money derived from re-runs of old Hollywood movies on TV.

- Radio and Television Directors Guild (RTDG). This union was organized in New York in 1942 as the Radio Directors Guild. Four years later the name was changed to include television and it became an international labor organization. RTDG's membership of approximately 1,000 is spread out among locals in New York, Hollywood, Cleveland, Washington, D. C., and Detroit. The union has contracts with all networks and with local stations in New York and Detroit. RTDG has jurisdiction over directors, associate directors and stage managers in television and directors and associate directors in radio.

It is obvious that problems could and do easily arise. A man of many talents (like Orson Welles) must have a separate union card and contract for the writing, directing, acting and composing that he does on a show, which might very well account for his infrequent appearances on TV.

PERHAPS THE MOST FAMOUS individual who ever defied union law (and lost) was Cecil B. DeMille. In November, 1944, Mr. DeMille had been the director-producer-M.C. of the *Lux Radio Theater*, heard over CBS, for nine years. But that November, AFRA (American Federation of Radio Artists) levied an assessment of \$1 on every one of its members to fight a "right-to-work" proposition on the California ballot. Mr. DeMille refused to pay the \$1 and was suspended by the union, which did not accept the director's protest that it had no right to levy funds to fight an issue that a union member might personally support.

Mr. DeMille filed a petition with the Los Angeles Superior Court for an injunction against AFRA's action. The court denied the petition, finding (in words that must have been celestial music to the union's ears) that no right of suffrage or discussion was interfered with; that no member was coerced [sic] in his voting by the action of his organization inasmuch as he could have voted one way while his share of the organization's money was being used to support the opposite way.

After nine successful years in radio, Cecil B. DeMille went off the air and was never heard again, a silence guaranteed by the union's decree that any of its members who appeared on the same program with Mr. DeMille would also be suspended. When AFRA became AFTRA (American Federation of Television and Radio Artists) the ban was extended when Mr. DeMille reiterated his refusal to pay that solitary dollar.

The power of unionism was driven home back in 1943 with a civil complaint filed by the US Government under Section 1 of the Sherman Act "alleging violations of the antitrust laws because of the American Federation of Musicians refusal to permit its members to make phonograph records and elec-

trical transcriptions for use by radio stations, juke box operators or in the home."

The court's decision in this case reveals the condoned monopoly exercised by unions like AFM. The union's conduct (which deprived millions of Americans of needed relaxation during a period of war tension) was held to involve a labor "dispute" concerning "terms and conditions of employment" and thus not subject to the antitrust laws. As a result of this finding, phonograph records almost disappeared for three years until union terms for their use were met.

James C. (for Caesar) Petrillo was president of AFM at this time. The peccadillos of this prancing erstwhile trumpet player are infamous, but a few of the more ludicrous may be cited to demonstrate the restrictive practices of labor in broadcasting.

In 1945, Petrillo decreed that a double crew of musicians must be used if a musical program were duplicated over both FM and AM outlets. The result: all networks cancelled all "live" musical shows for their FM affiliates, and independent stations with both modulations followed suit. (TV came along shortly thereafter and in the scramble for its riches, this double standard of musicians was forgotten.)

In 1946, Petrillo decreed that American radio stations could not broadcast musical programs originating in any foreign country except Canada. The National Association of Broadcasters protested against this order, prompting a classic reply by Little Caesar: "The trouble with those guys is they're making too much money."

In 1952, Petrillo exhumed a rule forbidding full-time staff musicians of radio stations and broadcasting chains to make other public appearances and decreed its enforcement in Chicago. The result: local chamber music in that city almost expired because the members of most quartets and other small ensembles depended upon the salaries from their radio jobs.

In 1957, Petrillo refused to license films of Republic Pictures for TV exhibition unless payment was made of from \$25 to \$75 to each musician who played in the orchestras on the sound tracks of the films plus five per cent of the gross revenue obtained from sales of the films to TV. The result: a civil antitrust suit for \$6 million damages filed by Republic Pictures against AFM.

And there are other tricks that unions use skillfully to get their way in broadcasting. One of the most popular is the boycott. In 1955 NABET won a seven-month strike in Michigan by the use of a "consumer boycott."

In February of that year, four employees at WSAM Saginaw, Michigan, were dismissed by the management, Knorr Broadcasting Co., which also owns WKMJ Detroit, WKMF Flint, and WKHM Jackson, all in Michigan. NABET called a protest strike against their dismissal and asked the AFL and CIO to join in a state-wide campaign of "eco-

nomic pressure" against all four stations.

Pickets were provided by the two larger unions to disseminate information about the strike and to undertake "an intensive educational program aimed at persuading national sponsors, for the most part national accounts, to withdraw their business at all four stations." The Brewery Workers of the CIO urged locals and joint boards to concentrate on brewery and beer distributors using the Knorr stations. Station owners felt the squeeze but did not give in, forcing labor to squeeze even harder.

In an open letter, Region VII of the CIO informed Knorr sponsors that if they "continued" advertising after September 1, "it will be necessary to so inform CIO members in Michigan." Knorr Co. filed charges of secondary boycott against NABET, but they had been dismissed by the NLRB. There was no course for Knorr but capitulation and the rehiring of the four dismissed men. Another victory had been won by labor in a war which all too few realize is being waged.

ALTHOUGH THE PROBLEMS of stations and networks with the seven aforementioned unions may seem utterly frustrating and maddening, when compared with the labor situation in Hollywood, they appear only irritating.

Hollywood has been the motion picture capital for several decades, and since the beginning of television, has also been the television film capital. The same rules and regulations which made it impossible for an electrician to move a sofa on a movie set have been carried intact to the television set. As a result, the TV producer, whether he wants to produce a 90-minute spectacular or a 90-second commercial, must deal not with seven but with 28 different local unions.

If the producer wants to do a story about Harry Truman and the 1948 campaign, his first concern would be the Screen Extras Guild. He would *have* to include a scene at the rear of a train with Harry waving to a crowd and the crowd waving and yelling "Hooray for Harry!" General phrases like this are called "omnies" and for them, extras receive the minimum pay of \$22.05 per day.

But if, to accentuate Mr. Truman's popularity, there is a close-up of a little old lady smiling up at Harry, this is "special business" under the contract and the extra receives an additional \$7.75. If the extra also reaches up and touches Harry on the hand, and this is a point essential to the story, this would be classified a "silent bit," entitling the extra to almost triple her minimum pay, or \$63.33. And if the producer (who is obviously unbalanced or he wouldn't have thought of the plot in the first place) gives the extra one word of individual script dialogue, then she is no longer an extra but an actor and will be paid at least \$80 a day.

The ironic product of thousands of television films

being made by an industry whose previous annual output was measured in the hundreds has been a labor luxury class. Old motion picture contracts, with their guarantees of several hundred dollars weekly for non-actors, were based upon sporadic employment. Property men, sound mixers and electricians in full-time television work now find themselves in the yearly income bracket of \$15,000 to \$20,000.

Strikes, boycotts and featherbedding are three of the restrictive practices employed by labor in the broadcasting field. A fourth and less familiar practice to the public is the payment to a union member for the re-run of a filmed television show or old Hollywood movie.

The American Federation of Musicians established the precedent in 1946 when President Petrillo extracted a promise from Hollywood movie companies (who never dreamed that they would release their product to television) that they would pay five per cent of the TV gross from any motion pictures shown on the new medium into a Musicians Performance Trust Fund. It was further agreed that each playing musician on the sound track would get \$25.

This agreement dealt with pictures made prior to that date. AFM is the only union whose members receive residual payments for films made before 1948 which are shown on television. The other unions saw their error of omission in 1948 when contract renewals came around, and inserted clauses empowering them to stop their members from working if feature pictures made after Aug. 1, 1948, were released to television without satisfactory payments being made to the writers, actors and directors of those pictures.

CONSEQUENTLY, many production companies have declined to release their films to TV because too large a slice of the profits would go to the unions. Others, more economically pressed and whose margin of profit is always small, have released some "B" films. But the great majority of the movies seen on early and late shows of the Nation's stations are either pre-1948 Hollywood pictures or foreign films.

Nevertheless, the residual returns have been handsome to writers, actors and directors. In March of this year, John L. Dales, national executive secretary of the Screen Actors Guild, announced that residual fees for TV filmed programs, totaled \$8,691,758, not including fees for television use of post-'48 theatrical films nor use payments on TV commercials. Dales commented that residuals were running at the rate of \$3.5 million a year and "now constitute a most significant portion of actors' earnings in TV," which wins the prize for the most flagrant understatement of the year.

In October, 1958, John Schallert, television contract administrator for Writers Guild of America,

West, noted that the rate of collections of residuals would henceforth average about \$1 million a year. He added that \$817,000 had been collected in the first nine months of 1958 as against \$343,000 for all of 1957. WGAW is noted for its good bookkeeping, one reason being that writers normally pay basic dues plus one per cent of their earnings to the guild. And their earnings naturally include income from television film re-runs.

It is estimated that members of the Screen Directors Guild (which is not so free with its figures) have received between \$300,000 and \$500,000 in residual fees for old films on TV. Payments for actors, writers and directors vary, but directors for example, receive 25 to 35 per cent of their original salaries on all re-runs up to six.

It is obvious that with these residual payments, plus back-to-back job security, that rigid restrictions are maintained on the number of members in broadcasting unions. One TV film producer puts it this way: "They open their membership rosters for new members at 12 midnight January 1 and close them at 12:30, with the result that we have to pay the 'on call' scale instead of the regular weekly minimum (an increase of about 35 per cent) because the number of men available for each job is so limited."

THROUGH THE EFFORTS of the Screen Actors Guild, actors, singers and announcers who appear in filmed television commercials are receiving rewards that strain the imagination. The minimum wage for anyone on camera for an eight-hour day is \$80. The average 30-second or 60-second commercial takes about a half day to shoot, yet as a result of re-runs payments, the actor frequently nets over \$2,000 and as much as \$5,000 for the commercial.

Broadcasting is a billion-dollar dessert, large, rich and tempting, but when the pie is split more than 20 different ways, it's obvious everybody is not going to dine as well as he hoped. But that seems to be show business, circa 1959.

Lee Edwards is a former staff writer for *Broadcasting* magazine, and he has had articles published in several conservative periodicals. He is presently serving as Press Assistant to Senator John Marshall Butler (R.-Md.).

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